

Message Text

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ACTION IO-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ARA-10 EUR-10 ISO-00 IOE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-10 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-14 EA-07 NEA-06 SAJ-01 DRC-01 /085 W

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 647

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SANTIAGO 6203

FOR ASST SEC BUFFUM AND AMB SCALI

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNGA, SOCI

SUBJECT: 29TH GA - THIRD COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
IN CHILE

REFS: STATE 3857, 3716, 3898

1. SUMMARY: WE URGE DEPT AND USGADEL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT CERTAIN
CONSIDERATIONS OF EQUITY AND EFFECTIVENESS BEFORE SUPPORTING
A RESOLUTION WHICH CONDEMNS CHILE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.
WE SUGGEST SUPPORT ONLY FOR A STUDY, AND AVOIDANCE OF USDEL
PRESSURE ON CHILEANS. END SUMMARY.

2. WHILE WE ARE TOO DISTANT FROM UNGA SCENE TO MAKE AN
EFFECTIVE INPUT INTO TACTICS OF HANDLING CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS
PROBLEM IN THIRD COMMITTEE, I HOPE DEPT AND USGADEL WILL TAKE
CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS INTO ACCOUNT IN DETERMINING US ATTITUDE.

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3. FIRST, WITHOUT DENYING THAT HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN CHILE

ARE FAR FROM PERFECT IN WESTERN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN EYES, I THINK WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT SINGLING OUT CHILE AS HAS BEEN DONE IN UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS IS TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT UNJUSTIFIED. IN AND OUT OF SOUTH AMERICA, THE CHILEAN EXPERIENCE IS LESS THAN EGREGIOUS. IT IS THE ULTIMATE IRONY IN THIS MATTER TO FIND SOVIET BLOC PRESSURES AS AN UNDERLYING FACTOR IN PRODUCING UNGA ACTION AGAINST CHILE, WHEN RESTRICTIONS ON PERSONAL LIBERTIES IN CHILE DO NOT APPROACH COMMUNIST TOTALITARIAN PRACTICES LONG TACITLY ACCEPTED IN UN FORUM.

4. NOR ARE ULTERIOR MOTIVES LIMITED TO THE SOVIETS. NUMEROUS REPORTS FROM OUR WESTERN EUROPEAN, INCLUDING SCANDINAVIAN, EMBASSIES HAVE MADE IT APPARENT THAT WHAT SEEMS FROM HERE TO BE THE ALMOST PSYCHOTIC PREOCCUPATION WITH CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (AND THE SOMETIMES ASSOCIATED ATTACKS ON USG) HAS AN IDEOLOGICAL OR LOCALLY POLITICAL BASIS. CHILEANS ARE AT LEAST AS MUCH AWARE OF THIS AS ANYONE ELSE, AND IF OBJECTIVE OF UN ACTION IS TO OBTAIN REAL IMPROVEMENTS IN CHILE, THIS WOULD HARDLY SEEM TO BE BEST WAY TO GO ABOUT IT.

5. SECOND POINT TO BE MADE IS THAT ALL TEXTS WE HAVE SEEN TAKE NO ACCOUNT WHATEVER OF VERY DEFINITE IMPROVEMENT THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES SINCE EARLY DAYS OF JUNTA. WE HAVE REPORTED AT LENGTH ON THESE IMPROVEMENTS. SUMMARY EXECUTIONS, ONCE COMMON, HAVE ENTIRELY OR ALMOST ENTIRELY CEASED; IN OUR JUDGMENT REAL PROGRESS IS BEING MADE IN RESTRAINING TORTURE; HUNDREDS OF DETAINEES HELD WITHOUT CHARGES ARE NOW BEING RELEASED; THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT MANY OF THOSE CHARGED AND EVEN THOSE CONVICTED MAY SOON BE BENEFICIARIES OF AMNESTY; DETENTION CENTERS HAVE BEEN OR ARE BEING CLOSED; AND GOC HAS BEGUN, THOUGH MINIMALLY, TO MOVE DOWN THE SCALE OF EMERGENCY INTERNAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS TOWARD A MORE NORMAL SITUATION.

6. SURELY SOME NOTE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THIS PROGRESS, AND SOME ENCOURAGEMENT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO CHILEANS TO CARRY ON WITH IT. DELEGATES REMOTE FROM TERRORIST MOVEMENTS ACTIVE IN SOUTHERN CONE OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT, AS CHILEANS IN SANTIAGO SAW VIVIDLY ONLY LAST WEEK, VIOLENT

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TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS STILL EXIST IN THIS COUNTRY, AND HAVE CONNECTIONS OUTSIDE IT. NO CHILEAN GOVERNMENT COULD CONTEMPLATE RELAXING ITS EFFORTS TO EXTIRPATE THEM, PARTICULARLY WITH THE EXAMPLE OF ARGENTINE TERRORISM CLOSE AT HAND. REAL PROBLEM IS HOW TO CONFINE CHILEAN INTERNAL SECURITY PROCEDURES TO THOSE REASONABLY NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN SAFETY AND STABILITY.

7. EQUALLY SAME NOTE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN OF TRULY

EXTRAORDINARY POLICY OF OPENNESS FOLLOWED BY GOC IN PERMITTING EVERY RESPONSIBLE INVESTIGATORY BODY -- AND SOME THAT ARE FAR FROM RESPONSIBLE -- TO ENTER AND TRAVEL IN THIS COUNTRY, TO TALK WITH LEADING GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, TO VISIT DETENTION CENTERS, TO INTERVIEW PRISONERS, AND OTHERWISE TO SATISFY THEMSELVES AS TO WHAT IS GOING ON IN CHILE. AT THE LEAST IT WOULD SEEM ONLY FAIR TO GIVE SOME RECOGNITION TO THIS HIGHLY UNUSUAL BEHAVIOR ON THE PART OF A GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS CONSTANTLY BEEN IN THE DOCK IN INTERNATIONAL EYES FOR OVER A YEAR.

8. FINALLY, I AM DISTRESSED AT THOUGHT THAT GOC, WHICH IS COMPOSED OF FLESH-AND-BLOOD PEOPLE GOING THROUGH A TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE, SHOULD BE THE BUTT OF SOME KIND OF A POLITICAL DEAL DESIGNED "TO STRENGTHEN FRAIL UN MACHINERY FOR SAFE-GUARDING HUMAN RIGHTS" OR IN EXCHANGE FOR SOVIET CO-SPONSORSHIP OF RESOLUTION ON TORTURE. HOW WOULD WE FEEL IF AN ANTI-US RESOLUTION WERE TO BE JUSTIFIED ON SUCH GROUNDS? WILL IT HELP OR WILL IT HAMPER PROGRESS TOWARD MORE NORMAL PRACTICES IN CHILE TO HAVE A BARGAIN STRUCK ON THIS BASIS? AND CAN THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY REALLY BE IMPROVED IF IT IS TO BE DISTORTED, AND SELECTIVELY USED, ON OTHER THAN HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS TO OBTAIN A UN PROCEDURAL, OR A POLITICO-IDEOLOGICAL OBJECTIVE?

9. I RECOGNIZE THAT IN THE PRESENT ATMOSPHERE SOME RESOLUTION ON CHILE WILL CERTAINLY BE ADOPTED BY THE UNGA. A RESOLUTION WHICH URGES A UN BODY TO STUDY THE SITUATION SEEMS TO ME TOLERABLE. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS LOGICAL TO LINK ELEMENTS OF CONDEMNATION WITH A REQUEST FOR A STUDY OF "REPORTED VIOLATIONS," NOR AM I CLEAR WHY THE FOCUS OF A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION STUDY SHOULD BE NARROWED TO "TORTURE, ETC." ALONE.

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10. VIEWED AGAINST THE FOREGOING THOUGHTS, I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE, IF DIFFICULT, FOR THE US TO ABSTAIN, WITH EXPLANATION, ON A RESOLUTION EMBODYING CONDEMNATORY LANGUAGE AND ENTIRELY LACKING THE ELEMENTS OF BALANCE WE HAVE MENTIONED. I WOULD PARTICULARLY HOPE THAT THE US WILL NOT USE PRESSURE ON CHILE TO ACCEPT ANY PARTICULAR TEXT. CHILEANS ARE IN AN UNDERSTANDABLY TOUCHY MOOD REGARDING BRICKBATS THEY ARE RECEIVING ON HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THOSE FROM OUR OWN CONGRESS AND INFORMATION MEDIA. DEPT SHOULD WEIGH LONGER-RANGE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF OUR ATTEMPTING TO TWIST CHILEAN ARMS BEFORE AUTHORIZING USDEL TO DO SO.

11. I BELIEVE WE HAVE A REAL CHANCE TO HELP OBTAIN FURTHER MODERATION OF CHILEAN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES BY THE APPROACH USG HAS BEEN FOLLOWING. TOO TOUGH A STANCE WILL UNDERCUT OUR

INFLUENCE HERE. IT WILL TEND TO STRENGTHEN HANDS OF HARD-LINERS
IN THIS COUNTRY WHO ARE CONVINCED THAT IT IS DANGEROUS TO GIVE
AN INCH TO WHAT THEY REGARD AS MARXIST-DIRECTED INTERNATIONAL
PRESSURE AND THAT THE ONLY SAFETY FOR CHILE THEREFORE LIES
IN EVEN FURTHER TIGHTENING OF HUMAN RIGHTS RESTRICTIONS. WHY
GIVE AID AND COMFORT TO THEM?
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